

# Restore Unity of the Communist Camp

If one peruses the present international communist movement, one will notice that, owing to failure to conduct on a correct line ideological struggles to resolve the ideological differences between different communist parties, the communist camp today is faced with unthinkable disunity and split. The situation has come to such a pass now that the possibility of a war between two socialist countries (till the other day such a possibility could not be dreamt of and the idea was something ridiculous to the communists) cannot be outright ruled out as fantastic.

There is no denying that the world imperialist camp is taking full advantage of this disunity and rift in the communist camp. To illustrate, it is because of this disunity and rift that the US imperialists can still continue their aggressive wars in Indo-China, particularly Vietnam, notwithstanding the superiority of the united strength of the socialist countries and the peace-loving peoples of other countries over that of the imperialist camp. It is, however, true that the politics which the USA as the undisputed leader of the imperialist camp has so long been pursuing are increasingly getting defeated.

Since the liberation of China and establishment of the People's Republic of China, the US rulers had been trying to ostracize China and following the policy of "containment of China" and two-China policy. On the plea of saving the so-called "free world" from alleged communist domination, they had been constantly building up an atmosphere of war and war-psychosis and attempting to stave off the mounting economic crisis in the country by militarizing its economy, i.e., transforming the entire US economy into war economy. And as means to consume the huge arms and other military hardware thus produced and stockpiled and thereby continuing the flow of military production as also to keep its control and further extend its influence over

South-East Asia, the USA had been starting localized partial wars and keeping them ablaze as long as possible. But continuously defeated at the hands of the patriotic people of Vietnam, the US armed forces, though equipped with most up-to-date modern arms, are just waiting for their complete routing. To delay this certain defeat and anyhow keep ablaze the war in South-East Asia, the imperialist rulers of the USA have escalated the war into Laos and Cambodia. The American people are, of course, paying the price of these wars started by their rulers in the interests of a handful of US war merchants. Common men of the USA not only are paying through their noses billions of dollars as taxes to meet the ever-expanding war expenditure; they are also being forced to be killed in the wars in distant lands thousands of miles off from the American shore for no noble cause worth sacrificing their lives but for ensuring super-profits to the US monopolists. They, therefore, are conducting massive movements against the continuation of wars in Indo-China. In the face of continuous military defeats of the US armed forces in Vietnam and the mounting anti-war mass movements by the American people inside the country the US rulers have no other way out than changing their Vietnam policy. Before being completely routed militarily and forced out

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## COM. GHOSH'S APPEAL TO COMMUNIST PARTIES ABROAD ON THE OCCASION OF NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

After the Second World War, the world imperialist capitalist system became considerably weak and was pushed to the corner and the imperialist powers as a whole were on the retreat. The emergence of world socialist system vis-a-vis the world imperialist system, the attainment of independence by several countries in Asia and Africa breaking the chain of world colonial system, the unprecedented wave of national liberation struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies, the intensification of democratic movement and tremendous growth of peace movement throughout the world, beyond doubt established the superiority of the forces of peace over the forces of war thus creating a situation when peace and peaceful co-existence could be effectively thrust upon the imperialists to provide conditions so that the revolutionary struggles in different countries could attain complete victory without being aggressed or interfered by foreign imperialist powers.

Under such a situation, a mighty wave of national liberation struggles really gripped the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the struggles were steadily heading towards logical conclusion, that is, the final overthrow of the imperial-colonial system. But from when Khrushchev usurped the leadership of the CPSU a dark cloud appeared to cast its gloom over the prospect of revolutionary struggles and the world communist movement.

Since when Khrushchev's revisionist leadership firmly entrenched itself over the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, spate of modern revisionism has flooded the world communist movement leading ultimately to disruption and rift in the world communist camp. As a result world communist movement and the revolutionary struggles in different countries suffered a serious set-back. The U.S. imperialists, the bastion of reaction and counter-revolution, did not fail to take advantage of this situation and stepped up their counter-revolutionary offensive throughout the whole world, made unabated interference one after another into the internal affairs of other

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# US POLICY OF TWO-CHINA DEFEATED

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of Vietnam by the national liberation forces there, the US imperialist rulers have thought it prudent to withdraw the US armed forces from Vietnam and save their face, of course, not before making all arrangements for so-called "Vietnamization of the war" in order to keep the war ablaze as long as possible. This has resulted in the US decision of phased withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam.

That this forced withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam, which the US rulers are compelled to do under pressure of circumstances, will further intensify the crisis of US economy is admitted on all hands. The US pull-out from Vietnam will cause thousands of the American youths now serving as mercenary soldiers in the Vietnam war unemployed and bring about closure of many war-based industries in America, thereby accentuating the already acute crisis of market. In consideration of this hard reality American economic expert, Mr. Parkinson, in a statement had to comment that "outbreak of peace is a war declared against American economy." As has already been stated earlier, the USA had so long been militarizing its economy to boost its crisis-ridden economy by artificial stimulation of increased military production and starting localized partial wars wherever possible and keeping them ablaze as long as possible as means to consume the arms and military hardware thus produced and stockpiled and keep the flow of military production continuing. As concomitant evils of its militarized economy for two and a half decades since the second world war, economic recessions of severe intensity are taking place periodically; its industries are not capable of fully utilizing their installed productive capacities; unemployment has touched an all-time record; acute inflation has plagued the economy and dollar has lost its international prestige and is on the verge of

a crash. The huge expenditure of Vietnam war to the tune of about 20,000 million dollars per year is putting severe strain on the US economy. US economy is not in a position to bear any further these strains; yet it is impossible now for the USA to totally pull its economy out of the war economy obtaining at present. But under compelling forces of circumstances, internal and external, the US rulers cannot unleash any new war nor can continue the Vietnam war also. The eventual withdrawal from Vietnam will accentuate the already crisis-ridden economy of the USA. In order to fill up the gap, that will be thus created because of the withdrawal from Vietnam, the USA has to lay some stress at least on the production of commodities for civil consumption and search for new market. It is for this reason that the bellicose US imperialists are trying to put on a garb of peace. In the words of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the SUCI and one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day, the US rulers are now "trying to switch over from war manoeuvres to peace manoeuvres both of which are the two edges of the same imperialist policy." It should be borne in mind that imperialism, to safeguard its interests, not only takes recourse to wars and war manoeuvres but, if needs be, it dons the cloak of peace as a temporary respite for preparing itself for changing over again to war manoeuvres and to confuse the people in furthering its interests.

In the light of US experience in Vietnam one can easily understand that the talk of "containment of China", as propagated by the US rulers, is all bunkum and false bragging. If the US troops, backed by all-out war preparations by the USA, can be decisively defeated at the war front by the people of a tiny country like Vietnam without the help of modern arms then one can very well guess what fate the USA will meet with in case it

dares to launch a military attack on China. The myth of American supremacy in military might has been completely exploded even to the puppet governments that had so long been dancing to the American tune. They, therefore, are not thinking it wise to be completely servile to the USA and blindly toe its anti-China line. For, such a servility would mean all loss and no gain to them. Besides, in these countries also powerful anti-US popular movement for complete national independence are gaining momentum. Then again, imperialist Powers like Great Britain, France, etc., that once ruled the South-East Asian countries and whom the USA has pushed out from the area under pretext of helping them, are trying to regain their lost position in the area by taking advantage of continuous military defeats of US armed forces in Vietnam and fanning the growing anti-US feeling of their erstwhile friends. As a result, many of these countries are now taking anti-US stand. The fact that some of these puppet governments voted in favour of the Albanian resolution for seating the People's Republic of China in and expelling Taiwan from the UNO disregarding the US stand to the contrary bears ample testimony to the growing anti-US posture of these countries. All these facts have made the US rulers realise that without normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China it will not be possible for them to maintain their influence in South-East Asia after the eventual withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam. Thus, as the last attempt to maintain its influence over South-East Asia even after withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam and with the expectation of getting entry at least to some extent into the new Chinese market through the establishment of trade relations with China, the US rulers are out to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China. US attempts to normalize re-

lations with China and the proposed visit of Nixon to China mark a clear defeat of the US policy of "containment of China" before the consistent and tough anti-imperialist, particularly anti-US imperialist, foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, military defeat of the US armed forces in the face of the struggle of the valiant people of Vietnam and the mounting movement by the American people inside the country against continuation of war in Indo China. The adoption of the Albanian resolution seating the People's Republic of China in and expelling Taiwan from the UNO in the face of US opposition marks further defeat of the US policy of two-China.

In the prevailing favourable world political situation, when the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, are again on the retreat, contradictions within the imperialist camp are more and more getting intensified and manoeuvres of the US rulers are meeting with defeats one after another, if the national liberation movements in colonial and semi-colonial countries are to be made victorious and pushed to their logical end, the revolutionary struggles for socialism in metropolitan countries are to be strengthened and world imperialism is to be made still more weak by correctly handling the contradictions within the imperialist camp with a view to intensifying the national liberation movements in colonial and semi-colonial countries and revolutionary struggles for socialism in metropolitan countries then it is essentially necessary to bring back unity in the international communist movement and solidarity of the Socialist Camp in order that the Socialist Camp as a whole can unitedly render active support to the revolutionary struggles for national independence, democracy and socialism, put an effective check on the imperialists so that they cannot interfere on any pretext into domestic affairs of any country and thereby, acting as one man, impose peace on the imperialists. There is

# Compromise on matters of Ideology and Principle Impermissible

no doubt that if the unity of the international communist movement and solidarity of the Socialist Camp can be restored then in the present international political situation the Socialist Camp will again be in a position to play a decisive role in world politics. In the background of this changed international political situation every individual believing in communism is feeling more and more the necessity of restoration of unity of international communist movement and solidarity of the Socialist Camp in the interest of giving fillip to struggles for national independence, democracy, socialism, and peace.

It is an undeniable fact that failure to conduct on a correct line the ideological struggles to resolve the ideological differences between different communist parties, especially between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, has resulted ultimately in the present rift in the world communist movement. The ideological differences started with the propagation of modern revisionism by the Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. These differences cover a wide field of ideology and principle, relate to communist approach to war, peace, peaceful co-existence of different social systems and other burning problems of contemporary world and attitude towards the imperialists and neo-colonialists and include the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle by the exploited masses of the peoples for emancipation from all sorts of exploitation of man by man. In fact, most of the differences arise from difference in the evaluation of the changed international situation following the second world war.

Restoration of the unity of the international communist movement does not presuppose that the ideological differences and differences over principles should be shelved or patched up and a hodge-podge *via*

*media* accommodating the different mutually conflicting political lines of the different communist parties that have participated in the ideological struggles should be adopted on the plea of restoring unity. Past experience has shown that such unprincipled unity on matters of principle and ideology does not bring stable communist unity. On the contrary, it leads to newer and newer complexities, the widening of the breach and the worsening of the situation. The truth of it will be corroborated by events following the 12-Party Declaration adopted in 1957 and the 81-Party Statement adopted in 1960. In place of presenting a definite clear cut line to guide the international communist movement these documents, under cover of an apparent unity, were nothing but a queer punch of two fundamentally different lines. Sometime later, when the ideological differences were fast heading towards a formal rift in the international communist movement the Chinese leaders being asked why they agreed to such hodge-podge documents, explained their conduct by saying that in the interest of avoiding a split and in the interest of preserving unity of the Communist Camp, they agreed to the compromise and adopted the *via media* contained in the above-mentioned two documents. But this pious but unscientific wish for unity did not bear fruit but, on the contrary, the unprincipled compromise on matters of principle and ideology then made became the breeding ground of more violent future differences landing the world communist movement into the present impasse. Our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day, as far back as 1963 observed: "Had the ideological differences been correctly resolved at the initial stage, when they were first detected, instead of patching them up by unprincipled compromises, international communist movement would

have been saved from the setback which the present ideological differences between the powerful communist parties have brought upon it" (**An Appeal to the Leaders of the International Communist Movement**). Very correct indeed!

It is often argued that since it is because of conduction of the ideological struggles that the relations between different communist parties and between different socialist states have become strained, the ideological struggles ought not to have been conducted at all. This is a mistaken view and betrays lack of proper understanding of communist unity. It should be borne in mind that only through struggle and interaction of ideas does communist thinking develop and is real communist unity built. In the words of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, "It must be realized that unity and struggle go together, i.e., there is unity while in struggle and the struggle is for unity. Communist unity presupposes and is achieved, maintained and strengthened through struggle and interaction of ideas. The struggle between communists is always conducted with the sole object of further strengthening the unity between them. Leave one or the other, and you do not get real communist unity." (*Ibid*) Attempt to develop unity renouncing struggle will be disastrous, leading to mechanical unity with bureaucratic leadership at the top. To further quote Comrade Ghosh, "Absence of struggle and interaction of ideas between different communist parties in the world communist camp will invariably lead to formalistic mechanical relation, as against dialectical relation, being established between them to the complete negation of the dialectical process of unity-struggle-unity indispensable for the development and operation of collective leadership in the international communist movement." Hence, there can be no question of stopping ideological struggle to resolve

the ideological differences between different communist parties. In fact, the ideological differences have by now assumed such a character that it is neither possible nor advisable to resolve them within a short time. So the ideological struggle will continue for a long time. There is no harm in it. It is, of course, to be borne in mind that these struggles should be conducted according to the communist code of conduct that governs the mutual relationship between different communist parties. Violation of the code may lead to unnecessary complications defeating the very purpose for which the ideological struggle is conducted.

"In the present historical epoch, when the national form of existence has not outlived itself, when the communist parties of different countries are maintaining separate existence, there is every likelihood of differences being cropped up between them on matters of approach to different world issues because of difference in experience gained by different communist parties in course of the revolutionary struggles conducted by them in their respective national spheres" (*Ibid*) and difference in national, cultural mental make-up. As a result, under these circumstances, as observed by Comrade Ghosh, "the contradictions which invariably develop between the communist parties of different countries may often assume the character of antagonistic nature, if taken singly and considered in separation. But when these antagonistic contradictions are placed in the background of fundamental unity of the communists and their common struggle against imperialism capitalism, they are at once transformed into non-antagonistic ones." (**Why the S.U.C.I. is the only real Communist Party on the Indian Soil**) It is for this reason that in case of conducting struggles against imperialism capitalism for preserving the unity and solidarity of the world communist camp and united action by it

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## Massive Peasants' rally at Bhubaneswar

( By a Staff Reporter )

Bhubaneswar, November 22—A 5000-strong mass deputa- tion of poor peasants and agricultural labourers, the biggest demonstration in the capital in recent years, from various places of Cuttack, Balasore and Keonjhar districts in general, particularly from Jajpur and Bhadrak sub-divi- sion, under the joint auspices of SUC, DSO, DYO and Krishak O Khet Majuria Sangha, waited upon the Chief Minister today. In the absence of the Chief Minister they handed over the mem- orandum containing their de- mands to Mr. Nilamoni Routh Roy, the Dy. Chief and State Home Minister. The demands

among, others, included adequate relief to the people affected by the recent cyclone in Orissa, rehabilitation of the displaced families, stopping of party politics in relief work, free supply of seeds etc., to enable the affected people to cultivate the land again, remission of land revenue, moratorium on debt, remission of tuition and other fees and provision of stipends for the students from the cyclone-affected places and declaring the areas as famine-affected areas. The Minister came to meet the demon- strators and assured them that the demands would be met as far as possible.

## DSO's Victory In Orissa

( By a Staff Reporter )

Cuttack ( Orissa ), November 20—At the recently held election of the students' union in Ravens- haw College Com. Chitta Bera, D.S.O. candidate, has been elected General Secretary of the union defeating his rival by more than three hundred votes. It should be noted that, unlike the students' organisations led by other parties, that did not hesitate to resort to corrupt practices and fan provincialism in order to win seats in the

election, the DSO fought the election on the demand for a democratic, secular and scienti- fic education and for stopping all malpractices in the acade- mic world. The victory of the DSO in the election for so important an office as that of General Secretary of the students' union in one of the most renowned colleges in Orissa has created great enthus- iasm about the DSO among the general students in the state.

## Meenaxi Workers' Movement

( By a Staff Reporter )

Gauhati (Assam), November 22—The manage- ment of the Meenaxi Wire Industries P) Ltd at Industrial Estate, Gauhati, has unjustly and illegally retrenched 54 work- ers and employees. Prior to this retrenchment the manage- ment laid off 21 and retrenched 11 workmen, but in the face of organised movement by the workers led by the Meenaxi Workers' Union, the manage- ment was compelled to make a bipartite agreement with the Union and withdraw the retrench- ment orders in case of the 11 workmen and lay them off for a maximum period of forty-five days. But the management in

violation of the agreement has terminated the services of 54 workmen including those covered by the agreement. The Workers' Union in protest against this illegal act of the management has been conduc- ting a movement. The workers are squatting in front of the main gate of the Industrial Estate with the demand for reinstatement of the retrenched workmen. Comrades Prabhat Khatonia and Indu Bhowmik, Joint Conveners of the Assam State Organising Committee of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), along with Comrades Entrance Rava, Prabhat Barman are guiding the movement.

# JUTE WORKERS DEMAND LIVING WAGE

( By a Staff Reporter )

A joint statement signed by the representatives of different Central Trade Union Organisations on the jute barons' unjust refusal to accept the modest demand with regard to wages of the Jute mill workers in West Bengal has been released to the Press. The signatories, among others, include Comrades Fatick Ghosh and Sanat Dutta of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), Shri Kali Mukherjee and Sisir Ganguly of the INTUC, Shri Indrajit Gupta of the AITUC, Shri Bibhas Ghosh of the HMS and Shri Niren Ghosh and Kamal Sarkar of the CITU. The statement reads as follows :—

"The members of the jute wage fixation committee, representing the CITU, INTUC, AITUC, HMS, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and UTUC, had entered into bipartite negotiations with the Indian Jute Mills Association with the sincere hope that the mill-owners were as anxious as the workers for a reasonable settlement of the workers' long- pending demand for a mini- mum living wage-structure and other demands relating to service conditions

but much less than what the steel industry is paying.

"The IJMA's so-called "offer" is, therefore, nothing but a mockery of the worker's demands and does not provide even a basis for further negoti- ations. Hence, the unions have jointly decided to reject it unconditionally. Unless there is genuine change in the employers' attitude, such bipartite negotiations cannot yield any fruitful result. However, we are always ready to consider any reasonable offer.

"It may be recalled that at the time of the last General Strike involving two and a half lakh jute workers in December, 1970, the unions had jointly put forward a demand for Rs 264 per month as the minimum living wage at cost of living index of 730 (base year, 1939 August=100) which would be equal to Rs 300 at present as compared with the actual exist- ing minimum of Rs 184.60 (total emoluments).

"During negotiations with the IJMA representatives, it has become clear that they are not at all interested in rea- sonable settlement. The IJMA has made a paltry offer of an increase of Rs 10.40 per month which would raise the mini- mum total emoluments to only Rs 195 which is not only far short of the need-based mini-

"It is highly regrettable that the Government of India is permitting the jute mill- owners to play ducks and drakes with the future of the industry, its labour force and the raw jute- cultivators at a time when unprecedentedly favourable trading conditions have been created due to the virtual crippling of the jute industry in Pakistan and its competitive power in over-seas markets. It is well known that in their selfish greed for short-term profits the mill-owners are indulging in rampant specula- tion and jacking up jute goods prices, with the result that foreign consumers are being driven to substitute packaging materials and markets may be lost for ever to the Indian jute industry.

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## Anti-labour game behind take-over of closed mills

(By a Staff Reporter)

The Government of India has recently promulgated an Ordinance amending the Industrial Development and Regulation Act. By the Ordinance it has assumed powers to take over industrial units which have been closed for a period of not less than three months or whose assets have been frittered away or mismanaged.

It is known to all that the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and other Central Trade Union Organisations in our country have been demanding for a long time the re-opening of the closed factories in the country and restoration of employment to the workers and employees who have been thrown out of employment because of the closure. They have also been demanding that, if necessary, the Government should take over the closed factories, open and run them.

According to a recent study, there are about 2400 closed industrial units in our country now. While we strongly demand that the Government under the Ordinance should immediately take over these closed industrial units, open them and provide jobs to those who have lost their employment due to the closure, we at the same time cannot but protest against the provision in the Ordinance giving powers to the Government to suspend the operation of certain labour laws, namely, the Industrial Disputes Act, Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act and the Minimum Wages Act in case of the units taken over under it. This move to deny to the workers statutory minimum wages, lawful conditions of service and some hard-won rights of theirs is another example of a naked anti-labour outlook, policy and activity of the Congress(R) and the Union Government run by it. This is certainly a retrograde step demanding strong condemnation and united opposition by the different Central Trade Union Organisations, the organised labour and other democratic forces in our country.

The Ordinance also provides for non-payment of liabilities of the concerns so taken over for a period of five years. It is now well-known that the management of the closed factories in almost all cases have not paid to the workers their due wages including dearness allowances and arrears allowance on account of overtime work nor have they deposited to the respective authorities Provident Fund contributions and State Insurance contributions actually made by the workers to companies as also the contributions the companies are lawfully liable to deposit to the authorities. These are liabilities of the companies. The Ordinance provides for non-payment of these dues of the workers also.

Com. Fatik Ghosh, Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), has in a statement appealed to the different Central Trade Union Organisations and the working class of our country to conduct united movements to force the Union Government to take over all the closed industrial units and withdraw the anti-labour provisions in the Ordinance. He has urged upon the members of Parliament to strongly move for these justified demands of the working class when the Ordinance would be brought before them in Parliament.

According to the Union Labour Minister, there has been nearly a 23 per cent increase in the number of job-seekers while the growth in employment is only 2.2 per cent in the state sector and less than 1 per cent in the private sector. The above official figures glaringly show the

## Massacre in Alipure jail : SUC Demands Public Probe

(By a Staff Reporter)

Once again in West Bengal unarmed, helpless prisoners have been subjected to deliberate, brutal assault and murder on a massive scale.

On 26th November last, authorities of the Alipur Central Jail repeated to same barbarous pre-planned attack on unarmed undertrial prisoners and detenus killing and injuring them and then dished out the same old cooked up story of jail-breaking bid by extremists. Though the official list shows only eight killed, unofficial sources put the figure on a much higher scale and the number of injured prisoners has exceeded three hundred.

Severely condemning the dastardly attack on unarmed undertrial prisoners and detenus Sri Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI has demanded the immediate institutions of public inquiry into the pre-planned attack including indiscriminate firing and lathicharge.

Sri Mukherjee emphasised that the repeated failure on the part of the Government to check recurrence of such attacks in different jails of West Bengal have all the more necessitated the institution of a public enquiry and demanded that the officials found guilty of such massacre be immediately brought to book.

## Kerala SUC Observes November Anniversery

(By a Staff Reporter)

Quilon (Kerala) November 30—The Kerala Organising Committee of the S.U.C.I. has observed a state-wide programme to commemorate the fifty-fourth anniversary of the Great November Revolution.

Collection of fund from the people, street corner meetings in the evening explaining the significance of the November Revolution particularly in the context of the present situation in our country, wall-postering, sale of party literature and above all making the people of the state acquainted with the thoughts of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the S.U.C.I. and one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day were some of the tasks that were included in the programme. When the

CPI is behaving objectively as a servile drumboy of the Congress (R) and the CPI (M) has appeared as the greatest danger to the development of the united democratic mass movements because of left opportunistic, sectarian and disruptive politics, the S.U.C.I.'s call to bring into being a fighting democratic unity against the Congress (R), main enemy of the people at the moment in our country and other reactionary forces, has been acclaimed by the people of the State.

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sincerity, imagination and initiative of the Congress(R) and the governments run by it to create new avenues of employment for crores and crores of unemployed persons in our country. What! Talk of election-promises! You have got the promise; what more do you expect?

# Resolution of Ideological Differences will take a Long Time

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against imperialism capitalism there is sacred responsibility of the communist parties to maintain unity among them even when conducting ideological struggles against one another. So, the object of conducting struggle against the enemy cannot be the same as that of the ideological struggle between two communist parties belonging to the same communist camp. The object of the former is to overthrow the enemy while the object of the latter is to arrive at unity in the interest of further strengthening communist movement. Hence, every communist party participating in the ideological struggle must try to understand correctly the views of other communist parties with an open mind free from any bias and wait patiently as long as is necessary till the ideological differences are fully resolved. Along with it unity among themselves must be preserved like the apple of an eye in the struggle against imperialism capitalism and in support of the revolutionary struggles in different countries.

Having failed to observe the above-mentioned Marxist-Leninist outlook and code of conduct in conducting ideological struggles, leading communist parties in the international communist movement like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, at different times, in the name of conducting ideological struggles, have used such bitter and abusive language against each other, as can be used against the enemy alone. Though it cannot be denied that the Chinese leadership has, in the main, presented fundamentally revolutionary line against modern revisionism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on different questions of the world communist movement yet at the time of conducting the ideological struggles the necessary wisdom and restraint, that should govern the style of the ideological struggle, keeping in view the very purpose of the struggle, that is, to win over

the rank and file and the masses still under revisionist influence, and the necessity of maintaining unity of the communist camp and in the common struggle against imperialism, were found to be lacking in the approach of the Communist Party of China. We are constrained to say it.

In the matter of conducting the ideological struggle correctly there is another very important point. And that is this—it is extremely necessary for every communist party, big or small, to have the mind to learn from others. For, since a party is small so it is not capable of reflecting advanced thought or realising the truth—such a kind of thinking is alien to Marxism-Leninism. It is true that the communists theoretically accept the correctness of this observation; yet it has been noticed at different times that in communist movement in deciding the correctness or incorrectness of one's say the tendency to give importance on one's strength only has worked. Unless this mentality is given up, the environment of conducting ideological struggles properly and in a scientific way cannot be created.

If the ideological struggle is conducted properly, the unity of the communist camp cannot be disturbed in any way. Discussing on this point, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has said: "If any inner-party struggle deepens the differences within the party, if it intensifies disunity and adversely affects united action against the enemy (unless it is concluded that ideological rapprochement between the disputants is an impossibility) then it is to be realised that the struggle is being conducted without principle or that there is lack of understanding of the principle that should govern the communists in the conduction of an ideological struggle or that there is serious lacking in the understanding of communist ethics" (**An Appeal to the Leaders of the International Communist Movement**). What is stated above about inner-party struggle within an

individual communist party holds good equally in case of the ideological struggles which different communist parties conduct within the world communist camp.

Where the aim of conducting ideological struggles in world communist camp is to resolve the ideological differences amongst the communists and arrive at unity with a view to continuously strengthening the process of working class movements in different countries and carrying on uncompromising struggles against imperialism, being further fortified with the strength of unity, why then have disunity and even mutual hostility developed now between different communist parties in conducting the ideological struggle? Why is the united struggle by the communists against imperialism, their common enemy, being disturbed for the conduction of the ideological struggle? Why cannot the possibility of a war between two socialist states, which could not even be dreamt of till the other day, be ruled out now as fantastic? Replies to these questions will be had from what Com. Ghosh had said several years back. He said: "Some comrades may disagree with us but we still feel that the bitterness, that has developed and is increasing with the passage of time on account of the ideological differences, is mainly due to the lowering of the standard of ideological consciousness of the communists, not excluding some of the present leaders of the international communist movement. Otherwise, there is no earthly reason why ideological differences between the different communist parties (so long as they regard their opponents as brother communist parties) should adversely affect their mutual relationship and the relation between different socialist states" (*Ibid*)

This lowering of standard of ideological consciousness in the communist world has not taken place in a day or two. The process had started long before. Judged in the light of

historical evidence, it can be said that the world communist camp has for a long time been influenced greatly by mechanical process of thinking instead of dialectical process of thinking. As a result, the obnoxious habit of taking some communist party abroad as authority, blindly following it and copying its line as it is, has developed as an incurable disease in almost all the communist parties, big or small, in the world. The serious ideological questions, centring which the present disunity and rift in the communist camp have occurred, had so long been sought to be resolved in secret meetings limited to the top leaders of the international communist movement, thereby depriving thousands of other communist leaders, millions and millions of communist ranks, the working class and the masses of the peoples of the whole world of the opportunity of engaging themselves directly in the dialectical struggle, testing by their own experience the correctness or incorrectness of the different viewpoints advanced by different communist parties, including their own respective parties, arriving at truth and educating themselves. The obnoxious habit of blindly following some foreign authority of the communist parties has developed in their ranks the tendency and propensity to blindly follow likewise the leaders of their respective parties also. As a result, the standard of ideological consciousness of not only the communist workers of different countries but also the leadership has gone down very badly. For, both in the sphere of international communist movement and inside individual communist parties only through conduction of constant ideological struggles between the leaders and the workers according to dialectical process can the standard of ideological consciousness of the leaders as well as of the workers be kept high and further developed. In their absence the standard is bound to fall. It is for this

# Unity of Socialist Countries on Three Conditions—Immediate Necessity

reason that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, in urging upon the leaders of the international communist movement the necessity of open polemical discussion, said: "Open polemical discussion on the other hand, brings in bold relief the ideological differences and helps them to be resolved. Furthermore, it minimizes the scope of wrong apprehensions and misgivings in mass-mind about any action taken, the possibility of distorting opponents' views and the chance of surreptitious shifting by one of one's stand without public admission of mistakes which secret meetings of the top leaders are liable to. For, in an open polemical discussion the respective views of the parties participating in the discussion do not remain confined among the leaders of the parties alone but get world-wide publicity which makes it very difficult for one to distort other's views and change one's own stand surreptitiously. And even if the views of opponents are distorted or one's own stand is conveniently shifted without public admission of mistakes, others can easily detect them. Then again, since the discussion is open, ordinary members of the parties, the class and the masses are actively involved in the ideological struggle and get the opportunity of judging the correctness or otherwise of the respective views of different communist parties, educating themselves accordingly and of even exercising pressure on the leaders to rectify themselves. The participating parties too get an opportunity of learning from the class and the masses. Thus, an open polemical discussion on questions of ideology and principle, if conducted principledly, may serve as an antidote to party fanaticism and blindness to leaders." (*Ibid*) In passing, it should be mentioned here that before our Party headed by

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had made an exhortation for opening wide the ideological struggle to resolve the present ideological differences between different communist parties, others were against it and favoured resolution of the ideological differences in secret meetings of the leaders on the ground that open polemical discussion would mean making the differences public which would not be wise. No doubt, such a stand on their part was wrong.

The danger of mechanical process of thinking in place of dialectical process of thinking in the world communist movement was pointed out by Comrade Ghosh as far back as 1948 in connection with the Tito episode. Viewing with serious concern the antagonism of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia with the international communist leadership, he expressed his apprehension thus: "...if not rightly resolved in time, (it) may, in the long run, bring about a new phenomenon in world history, when the people will witness that communists of different countries, instead of further cementing unity between them and making rapid strides for the establishment of world communist society, are at loggerheads with each other." (Excerpt from a speech delivered by Com. Shibdas Ghosh at a Party workers' meeting held on 20th November, 1948). How far this apprehension has come true can be understood from the latest development in the communist camp.

So, the reasons for the present disunity and rift in the world communist camp lie in the absence of a truly Marxist-Leninist code of conduct in conducting ideological struggles, failure of the communists to correctly grasp the true significance of the dialectical principle of unity-struggle-unity and, above all, the communist camp being influenced by mechanical

process of thinking. Our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has times without number placed correct views to free the international communist movement from these mistakes. But however advanced thinking and correct views a Marxist philosopher of India might have placed, the world communist movement has not been conducted on the basis of them. The Soviet Union, which had played a leading role in the international communist movement, has itself become a victim of serious mistakes now.

But in the perspective of present international political situation the objective necessity of restoring the lost unity of the communist camp has become very pressing. Because, on the one hand, China, an outstanding tower of strength of the communist camp, having taken steps to normalize and improve relations with different states, a favourable atmosphere has been created for opening up discussions to bring back the lost unity of the communist world and on the other hand, the USA, head of the imperialist camp, having become much weaker than before because of various reasons, including its internal economic crisis, an objective situation has been created for strengthening the national liberation movements in Bangladesh, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and other countries and the communist movements as a whole by cornering it still further under pressure of united communist movement. The question of unity of the communist camp has, therefore, become very serious.

But we are painfully observing that when a clear indication for improving mutual relations with other countries is distinctly visible in the foreign policy of China, at that time the Soviet Union, that claims itself to have the greatest responsibility in bringing back the lost communist unity

and solidarity of the Socialist Camp, has re-started anti-China propaganda campaign with more venom than before, let alone making attempts to restore old friendly state-relation with China. The Soviet Union is even using the attempts to normalize Sino-US relation as a tool in its anti-China tirade by attributing heinous motives behind this move for normalization of state relation.

It is an undeniable fact that a long time is necessary to resolve correctly on the basis of correct Marxist-Leninist code of conduct the ideological differences, that have led to the present disunity and rift in the world communist camp and adopt a clear-cut definite political line. But there is no earthly reason why unity of the socialist countries on the basis of the following three minimum conditions cannot be restored. The conditions are—(1) co-operation between the socialist states on the basis of mutual respect and equal status, (2) united and active help to the anti-imperialist national liberation movements and revolutionary struggles in different countries and to keep them free from imperialist interference and aggression and (3) united attempts to keep the undeveloped and newly independent countries free from imperialist influence and to help them in every possible way for their independent development and progress.

Lastly, we would expect that, taking appropriate lessons from the past mistakes, the leadership of the world communist movement and all the communists all over the world would start afresh with new vigour and enthusiasm to bring back the lost unity of the communist camp. We expect that the analysis hereinbefore of our Party headed by our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, will be of no mean value in the re-establishment of that unity.

# Restore Unity of the Socialist Camp and the International Communist Movement

(Contd. from page 1)

countries, exported counter-revolution, shamelessly attempted to crush by armed force the national liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies, started localised and partial wars according to their sweet will and even dared to militarily attack a socialist country, namely, North Vietnam—the results of which were disastrous on the national liberation struggles as a whole. Many a national liberation struggle were suppressed. Even the freedom struggle in Vietnam which was on its bid for final victory was left pending in a life and death battle for an indefinite period, and the Vietnam freedom fighters had to pay heavy price to clear off the debt of modern revisionism. Thus the most favourable world revolutionary situation immediately following the Second World War could not be properly utilised.

Today there appears a most favourable revolutionary political situation when the imperialists, and particularly, the US imperialists are again on the retreat. In the face of consistent and tough anti-imperialist, particularly the anti-US imperialist policy of China, ignominious military defeat one after another of the US armed forces at the hands of the valiant people of Vietnam, the entire economic system of America now standing on the verge of collapse as a concomitant evil of continuous militarised economy and the growing movement of the American people inside the USA against continuation of war in Indo-China, the US death-merchants and the 'sordid military regime' of the USA has been forced to seek to normalise relation with the People's Republic of China. And thus attempts for Sino-US detente started with the sole object of coming out of the impasse. This clearly marks the defeat of

US policy of "containment of China." Furthermore, the adoption of Albanian resolution expelling Taiwan from the UNO by more than two-thirds majority votes not only marks the defeat of the two-China policy of the USA but also clearly manifests that the myth of US military might is no longer at work even among the US satellites. Under such a condition, the contradictions of other imperialist countries, namely, Britain, France, and even to an extent of Japan and West Germany against US imperialism are getting more and more intensified. Besides, imminent victory of Vietnam struggle, more intensification of national liberation struggle in Laos and Cambodia, and fresh outbreak of freedom struggles in Bangladesh, Thailand and Malayasia are further weakening the imperialist camp and offering a death-blow to the imperialist colonial system. In addition to this, China's entry in the UNO and the enthusiastic zeal of different countries recently noticed to better relations with China, has enabled China to handle contradictions between the imperialists and between the imperialists and the newly developing countries more effectively. This has opened up a new perspective for the national liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles in different countries. In such a situation the genuine communists and the progressive forces of the world cannot but be deeply concerned about the necessity of unity of the international communist movement and the solidarity of the socialist camp.

But the ideological differences between the different communist parties have by now been so widened and have assumed such a character that it cannot be resolved easily and within a short period. It is neither possible

nor advisable too. So the ideological struggle will continue for a long time to come. There is no harm in it, provided the ideological struggle is conducted with necessary wisdom and restraint, keeping constantly in view the very purpose of the struggle, maintaining the correct norm and communist code of conduct that should govern the style of ideological struggle. But notwithstanding these ideological differences, we firmly believe, the unity of the communist camp can be restored on the basis of the following common minimum programme against our main enemy, the imperialism. These are:—

(i) to provide unitedly active and effective help to national liberation struggles and the revolutionary struggles in different countries;

(ii) to thrust upon the imperialists, peace and peaceful co-existence and thereby to foil the imperialist conspiracy of intervention, direct interference and aggression;

(iii) to keep the newly independent underdeveloped countries and the small nations free from the influence of big imperialist powers and help them in every possible way for their independent development and progress;

(iv) to keep away the weaker nations and big but confused nations from US nuclear blackmailing.

Attempts should immediately be made by all the communist parties to restore unity of the international communist movement, at least on the basis of the above mentioned minimum programme. We do understand, as the situation stands now, this may take a little more time. But there is no earthly reason why the old friendship in the state relations between the different socialist countries on the basis of mutual respect and equal status cannot immediately be restored.

But we are painfully

observing that when a clear indication for improving relations with other countries is distinctly visible in the foreign policy of China, at that very moment, the Soviet Union, which claims itself to have the greatest responsibility in bringing back the lost communist unity and solidarity of the socialist camp, instead of making any positive move to that end has, on the contrary, re-opened anti-China propaganda tirade with more venom than before. And in that direction, as a tool in its anti-China campaign, they have gone even to the extent of imposing a subjective motive on the attempts to normalise Sino-US relationship.

We appeal to the wisdom of the leaders of the CPSU to exercise maximum restraint, to make a positive move for the restoration of normal relationship with China and and to help bring back the unity of the communist camp.

Last of all we appeal to all the genuine communists all over the world in general and the Communist Party of China in particular, to come forward with new vigour and enthusiasm and work out concrete steps for the restoration of the lost unity of the communist camp and the solidarity of the socialist states in order that the socialist camp can present a united face against imperialism, notwithstanding ideological differences between them.

## Jute workers demand living wage

(Contd from Page 4)

"In the interests of the country it is imperative that the Government of India should intervene and impose rigid controls on the industry, fix export prices for jute goods and adequate minimum prices for raw jute in co-operation with the trade unions and at the same time see to it that the workers' wages and other demands are satisfactorily settled."